

staff memo on grounds for impeachment. The Georgia Republican has written Judiciary Chairman Henry Hyde to officially request the start of an impeachment inquiry. Rep. Hyde has said he's started staff studies "just staying ahead of the curve" and not for serious action "unless we have what really amounts to a smoking gun."

Rep. Barr, a former U.S. Attorney, makes the legal case that in Whitewater and the campaign funds scandal we are dealing with potential impeachment material. Even as a legal case, or course, there remains no small matter of proof. Were the payments to Webb Hubbell really hush money, for example, and were the Rose Law Firm billing records intentionally withheld while under subpoena? And to what extent was Bill Clinton personally involved—in Watergate phraseology, "what did the President know and when did he know it?"

While Mr. Starr is obviously digging in these fields, we have no reason to believe he's reached the mother lode. The Watergate impeachment case, after all, was built on the testimony of John Dean, Mr. Nixon's White House Counsel. Even then, it had to be cinched by tape recordings. Mr. Starr can't even get the cooperation of Susan McDougal. The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, recently on an anti-Clinton roll, cites Webb Hubbell's Camp David visit while editorializing, "If only Richard Nixon had been less stiff, he might still be jollying John Dean into silence—and Watergate would have stayed the name of another Washington apartment complex."

Writing recently in The New York Times, Watergate survivor Leonard Garment also remarked that President Clinton "seems infinitely elastic, positive and resilient." By contrast President Nixon's morose defensiveness was shaped by his "prize collection of emotional scars" from the Alger Hiss case. Even more important "Mr. Clinton has not been a central participant and target in a debate as polarizing as the conflict over the Vietnam War." President Nixon's resignation, and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, came at already impassioned turns in the nation's history. Today's mixture of contentment and cynicism insulates a President from scandal.

In a recent Watergate symposium, Mr. Garment also made the point that we should not expect Presidents to have normal personalities. "The presidential gene," he said, "is filled with sociopathic qualities—brilliant, erratic, lying, cheating, expert at mendacity, generous, loony, driven by a sense of mission. A very unusual person. Nixon was one of the strangest of this strange group."

No President is likely to meet the clinical definition of a sociopath; what psychiatrists call an "anti-social personality," a complete obliviousness to the normal rules of society, is evident in early adolescence and will lead to jail rather than high office. Sociopaths, the textbooks tell us, are seemingly intelligent and typically charming, though not good at sustaining personal or sexual relationships. They lie remarkably well, feel no guilt or remorse, and are skillful at blaming their problems on others. A most striking feature is, as one text puts it, "He often demonstrates a lack of anxiety or tension that can be grossly incongruous with the situation."

Childhood symptoms are essential to this clinical diagnosis, and Bill Clinton's experience in Hope and Hot Springs, while troubled, supports no such speculation. Yet clearly he has "the presidential gene," perhaps even more so than Richard Nixon. And this catalog of traits is ideally suited to, say, finding some way to overcome seemingly impossible election odds, or withstanding the onslaught of scandal. As Mr. Garment sum-

marizes the present outlook, "The country is in for a year or more of dizzy, distracting prime-time scandal politics. But I wouldn't hold my breath waiting for the ultimate political cataclysm."

While we take this as the most likely outcome, our judgment is that in fact Mr. Clinton is guilty of essentially the same things over which Mr. Nixon was hounded from office—abusing his office to cover up criminal activity by himself and his accomplices, and misleading the public with a campaign of lies about it. From the first days of his Administration, with the firing of all sitting U.S. Attorneys and Webb Hubbell's intervention in a corruption trial, we have seen a succession of efforts to subvert the administration of justice. The head of the FBI was fired, and days afterward a high official died of a gunshot wound, and the investigation ended without crime scene photos or autopsy X-rays. Honorable Democrats like Phillip Heymann have fled the Justice Department, leaving it today nearly vacant; White House Counsel have committed serial resignation. Yet Mr. Clinton remains President and still commands respect in the polls. Handled with enough audacity, it seems, the Presidency is a powerful office after all.

There is even a school of thought, implicit in talk about "more important" work for the nation, that the coverup should succeed. Yet as we look back on Watergate, the nation went through a highly beneficial, even necessary learning experience. Whitewater carries a similar stake, simply put: learning how our government operates, whether laws are being faithfully executed. With sunshine, citizens can make their own judgments, and have plenty of opportunity to express them, starting with the 1998 mid-term elections. But it is essential that the investigators—Mr. Starr, the FBI, Senator Thompson, Rep. Dan Burton and newly vigilant members of the press—get moral support against the deterrent attacks to which they've uniformly been subjected.

Whitewater did not prevent Mr. Clinton's re-election, though the scandal was much more advanced than Watergate was during Mr. Nixon's 1972 landslide. When President Nixon left we wrote that he had so severely damaged his own credibility he could no longer govern. We do not know how Whitewater will finally end, but we are starting to wonder whether we ultimately understood Watergate.

## LET LEBANON BE LEBANON: GIVE BACK ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

**HON. NICK J. RAHALL II**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 29, 1997*

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, as I did in the 104th Congress, I rise again today to introduce a House concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty, and full independence of Lebanon.

You may ask what that means, and you may ask why it is prudent or necessary to introduce such a resolution once again. I will tell you.

As a Lebanese-American Member of Congress, I am aware of recent events in the Middle East which may have slowed the peace process there to a point where it can no longer be revived. I have seen resolutions introduced in the House calling upon Syria to

get its armed forces out of Lebanon—as though Syria is the only occupying force that needs to get itself out of Lebanon; as though Syria is to blame for every single adverse thing that has happened to Lebanon in recent years.

Mr. Speaker, Syria is no angel—but Syria isn't the only problem Lebanon has, or that the Middle East has, for that matter. We all know that to be true.

I visited Lebanon recently, as well as a number of other nation-states in the gulf and Middle East region, and I was amazed at the consistency of their belief that we may have seen the end of the Middle East peace talks. They are gravely disappointed over the Israeli Prime Minister's provocative act to start building settlements in Har Homa, and the fact that the United States vetoed two United Nations Security Council resolutions condemning that provocative act.

The leaders I met with nearly unanimously stated that the United States has lost sight of its role as an honest broker in the Middle East peace talks, have lost sight of the fact that the Arab States are friends of the United States. They said their patience was being worn very thin.

The biggest problem, as always, appears to be that everyone views Lebanon as some kind of bargaining chip, or pawn, to be used by Israel and Syria, and then anyone else who seem to have an ax to grind in the region. It doesn't necessarily mean the ax to grind has anything to do with Lebanon directly, it is just that Lebanon sits directly in the path of Israel and Syria and so axes are ground at Lebanon's expense.

The last major episode of ax-grinding in Lebanon was called Operation Grapes of Wrath. And the axes were turned into shells and rockets and so-called precision weaponry that allegedly could penetrate buildings in the middle of the city of Beirut and search out a floor with a window that supposedly was concealing Hizbollah, without harming the innocent mothers and children also living in that building. But the precision weapons turned out not to be so precise, and more than 100 Lebanese civilians were killed, 400,000 were displaced and many left homeless, injured, and suffering.

This resolution is for Lebanon and about Lebanon. It isn't about Israel or Syria—except that all non-Lebanese forces are asked to get out of Lebanon. It is an idea whose time has come.

Another idea whose time has come is that the United States Government—the Congress—the President of the United States—need to reformulate their policy toward Lebanon and they need to reaffirm their support for a country that has long been friendly toward the United States.

Not only do they need to reformulate a policy, the policy needs to be implemented.

Lebanon has a Government, and it has an army, and it is rebuilding and it is getting stronger and more secure every day. It is time that the United States Government began looking at and considering Lebanon as the master of its own house—the captain of its own ship—and understand that the United States Government should negotiate directly with Lebanon's Government on issues concerning Lebanon and its future.

There is no need for the President, the Congress, or anyone else to look toward Syria to

the north, or toward Israel in the south—as neither has a right to decide Lebanon's future.

As a matter of fact, our Government needs to look backwards 18 years ago—and recall the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 425 which calls for the withdrawal forthwith of Israeli forces from Lebanon and for which the United States representative to the U.N. voted.

The Taif agreement regarding Syria did not go far enough because it did not call for withdrawal. It did call for a redeployment of Syrian forces to the entrance of the Bekaa Valley and the disarmament of all militia in Lebanon, both of which Syria has ignored.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I introduce this concurrent resolution, again. The resolution has changed somewhat from the one introduced in the last Congress. It commends the President for hosting the "Friends of Lebanon" conference this past December, and urges him to take further steps to assist Lebanon's reconstruction.

By this resolution I and my colleagues who cosponsor with me call for the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon so that she will no longer serve as the preferred battleground for her neighbors.

It tells the President that he need not wait upon the reconvening of the official Middle East peace talks, or the finalization of a comprehensive peace accord with all nation states in the region—to help Lebanon get non-Lebanese forces out of Lebanon.

The resolution calls upon the President to negotiate directly with officials of the Government of Lebanon on issues pertaining to Lebanon. To negotiate directly means just that—without any middlemen.

In closing Mr. Speaker, I submit this resolution to the House, calling also upon Lebanon to assert more independence to assure the international community that Lebanon has the political will and the military capability to guarantee security along her borders, for herself and her neighbors, and to disarm all militia upon the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon.

This new Lebanon resolution also commends the Lebanese Government for its determination to hold municipal elections for the first time since 1963, and finally, Mr. Speaker, the resolution calls upon Lebanon, with democracy being a part of its national character, to respect freedom of the press, human rights, judicial due process, political freedom, the right of association and freedom of assembly.

It is my genuine hope that the President will use the guidelines set forth in this resolution to formulate a new United States policy toward Lebanon, and let Lebanon be Lebanon.

#### THE SUCCESS OF ANGEL CHARITY

##### HON. JIM KOLBE

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 29, 1997*

Mr. KOLBE of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, our forbearers believed it was their duty to work together for the common good so that each might have the opportunity to enjoy the full fruits of liberty. Tucson's own Angel Charity for Children epitomizes that commitment to the principle of personal compassion that has made America great. Truly, there can be no

greater reward than the satisfaction that comes from helping our neighbors in need to help themselves.

For 15 years, Angel Charity volunteers have identified and met the critical needs of children, and their families, in our community. Goodness knows there has been no shortage of worthwhile projects that have needed Angel Charity's support. To this charity's credit, it has purposefully sought out a different organization each year for which to raise funds.

And Angel Charity's gifts keep on giving. By concentrating on brick-and-mortar projects, the organization has enabled beneficiaries to concentrate their resources on programs that meet the physical, emotional, and developmental needs of children. The increased public exposure each beneficiary receives through association with Angel Charity is incalculable.

The fact that Angel Charity has raised more than \$9 million to date for Tucson's children is truly astounding. Their success is testimony to the truth that those who give freely are twice blessed.

#### TRIBUTE TO JOHN SENESKY

##### HON. BILL PASCRELL, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 29, 1997*

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention John Senesky of Belleville, NJ, in honor of his outstanding achievements in football.

A resident of Belleville since 1958, John was a star football player at Belleville High School, from which he graduated in 1964. In 1968, after graduating from Montclair State College, John became a coach for the Belleville High School football team. Eventually he became the head varsity football coach, and he has held that position for more than 20 seasons.

John has coached nine Belleville teams to championship records, and has coached four teams to the State playoffs—1979, 1980, 1982, and 1984. One of his proudest moments came when he coached the 1980 team to the State finals against West Essex at Giants Stadium. The Buccaneers beat Morris Knolls in the sectional semifinals the same year by a score of 14–7.

John has nurtured many young athletes, specifically numerous All-County and All-State players. The most notable was Dave Grant, who later went on to play football for the University of West Virginia, the Cincinnati Bengals, and the Green Bay Packers. He was a major contributor in leading the Bengals to Super Bowl XXIII in 1989.

Today, John remains actively involved with the Fellowship of Christian Athletes [FCA], providing many Belleville football players and township youth with positive insights.

John is happily married to his wife, Carmela, and the couple have two sons: Daniel, 27, who is married to the former Lorraine Narvett, and Michael, 25.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that you join me, our colleagues, John's family and friends, and the township of Belleville in recognizing the outstanding and invaluable service to the community of John Senesky.

#### BROOKLYN DODGERS FAN CLUB HAILS JACKIE ROBINSON

##### HON. CHARLES E. SCHUMER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 29, 1997*

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, I recently joined all of my colleagues from Brooklyn to introduce legislation that will salute the historic achievements of Jackie Robinson by awarding him a congressional medal of honor. As you know, this year marks the 50th anniversary of Robinson breaking baseball's color barrier. I believe that the following statement made by Dr. Ronald L. Gabriel, founder and president of the Brooklyn Dodgers Fan Club, provides a fitting testimonial to the achievements of one of America's true heroes:

This month we celebrate the 50th anniversary of what may well be the most underrecognized achievement in this Nation's history. It occurred at Ebbets Field in Brooklyn, on April 15, 1947. Jackie Robinson, carefully selected by Brooklyn Dodgers President Branch Rickey to become this social pioneer, broke baseball's color barrier.

And what he did, and how he did it, would impact millions of lives—individually and collectively—throughout our society. For challenging the caste system in baseball compelled millions of decent Americans to confront the reality of racial prejudice heretofore ignored. Yes, the consequences of what Robinson and Rickey achieved spread far beyond baseball, beyond sports, and beyond politics—going to the very core and substance of our culture.

Baseball had been called the national pastime for decades—but until Jack Roosevelt Robinson came along, it was not truly a national game. In 1947, the entire borough of Brooklyn was to play a part in this unfolding drama. Or, as Roger Kahn said "up to then, everything was white, and only the grass was green."

Much like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Jackie Robinson also had a dream—and he expressed it so eloquently in his final public appearance at the 1972 World Series—namely, that one day minorities will stand side by side, along with whites, not only on the playing fields of America, but also on the third base coaching lines, in the managerial ranks, and even among the executives and ownership of our biggest and most productive organizations.

So let us here, highly resolve, that Jack Roosevelt Robinson did not live or die in vain—and that his dream shall be carried out throughout our great Nation—because it is right.

I urge my colleagues to commemorate the achievements of Jackie Robinson by cosponsoring H.R. 1335 to support the award of a Congressional Gold Medal in his honor.

#### THANK YOU, RICHARD W. CARLSON

##### HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 29, 1997*

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, public broadcasting recently learned that it will lose one of its ablest and most effective leaders—Richard W. Carlson, the president and CEO of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting [CPB].